hunts by chasing the bear into a trap set with spring bows. This custom also applied to fishing and in Kondō Juzo's *Sō Ezochi Go Yōgai no gi ni tsuki Kokoro e Sōrō Omomuki Moshiage Sōrō Kakitsuki* [*SECG*] [An Investigation of the Strategic Importance of the Ezo Area as a Frontier] he refers to salmon fishing in Ishikari as follows, "During the winter the Ezo make fishing nets with their hands, organize a band and fish in rivers and at the shore." [25] The Pannakuro area along the Ishikari River was the common fishing ground for the upper river or Yūbari Ainu and the lower river or Yaushipa Ainu.[26]

This mutual aid was seen in distribution and utilization as well as production. In the *Tokachi Shū Ryakusetsu* [Outline of the Tokachi Region] it says, "A country was like a district, a district like a village, a family . . . therefore in hunting and fishing they cooperated and they distributed to those unable to work." In the *Watarishima Hikki* [Watarishima notebook]:

> There was no borrowing and lending. For shelter, they built their own houses, cutting down available trees and grasses and the whole village rendered aid. For clothes, they stripped trees of bark, weaving them into bark cloth which they wore. Food they obtained by themselves. It has been said that there are no Ezo who die of starvation but if any do the wealthy and poor perish together after the rich have exhausted their resources in supporting the poor. In daily life not even a glass of wine is enjoyed alone. They dined together and shared what they had to eat with everyone at the table. When there was very little food it was given to the old or to the children. For the old and feeble or those seriously ill who had no one to look after them food was carried to them at each meal. Whenever there was successful catch in the hunt or from fishing all friends and relatives were invited for a treat as we do.

From the *Ezo Miyage* [27] [Souvenirs of Ezo]:

> A surplus of food was always shared with others, no matter how small the amount. Women, when gathering for a smoke share the pipe with three to four persons. After one took a puff it was passed on to the next. When wine was drunk it was shared with all those present.

According to Shiikutoyotarek of Yūrabu every one of the villages went out to fish during the salmon season and distributed their catch among all and when someone killed a bear he would summon his village folk from a long distance around and they, meeting him and presenting him with homemade millet cakes, would be given a share of the meat. The meat to be distributed was cooked and the people went to the home of the hunter with receptacles for their share. However, the portion of meat given might differ according to the

[25] *Kondō Seisai Zenshū* (Complete works of Kondō Morishige), 1: 36.

[26] Nagata Hōsei, *Hokkaidō Ezogo Chimei Kai* (An analysis of Hokkaidō Ezo place names), 75, and Takakura Shinichirō, Nototorio danwa Kikigaki (Transcript of talks with Nototorio), *Hokkaidō Shakai Jigyō*, No. 37.

[27] Hiruka Kisei, *Ezo Fūzoku Isan* (Collection of Ezo customs) 1: chap. 8.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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A COMMON MOUSTACHE-LIFTER.

A CEREMONIAL MOUSTACHE-LIFTER.

The moustache also is very thick and sometimes gets in the way when drinking or taking soup, so the men have invented a kind of "lifter" for them. These instruments are pieces of wood shaved down flat, about nine inches long, pointed at one end, and an inch or so wide. With these they hold their moustaches up and so keep them out of their food or whatever they may be drinking. The pointed end is to dip into the *saké* or anything they may be drinking at the time, and so take out a few drops and offer them as libations to the gods; even soup is sometimes thus offered. Fuji, the Goddess of Fire, especially, comes in for a portion. The libations are offered with deep reverence and may be regarded as a kind of "grace" said before meat. Should there happen to be no "lifter" near when needed, they use the index finger instead to hold up the moustache. One wonders why they have not invented moustache-cups for themselves.

302 413 264 782

When I first came among them I found that the people were very careful not to lose any of their hair. As Samson's strength was said to be in his hair, so the Ainu appeared to imagine their life depended in good measure on theirs. Many years ago a woman came to me in great distress because her son had been detained in a Japanese prison and the authorities there had shaved his head. This, she declared, was a double punishment and a very severe one, because the cutting off of the hair would surely shorten the poor boy's life!

826

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

462 appeared to be very uneasy and non-plussed and begged
562 me to return at once to the hut, as people might see me working there and say many bad things afterward. I very soon found that she scented Mrs. Grundy and so cleared off post haste. I found out later that what the chief had told me about gardening being the woman's privilege was quite true then, though it is not so at the present day, for I am now writing of what I found to be the case 50 years ago. The only garden I ever saw Penri himself working in was a tiny piece of ground in
[277] which he had planted a few tobacco roots, the leaves of which were to be dried for his own private consumption.

512 In the busy spring time the women used to crawl
562 out of their sleeping places in the small hours of the morning, eat a hasty meal of cold vegetable stew, shoulder their tools and proceed to their gardens to chop and hack their plots and sow their seeds. Late at night they would return carrying big bundles of wood on their backs, do what there was to be done in the house, fetch the water (in this I was allowed to help), cook a big meal, eat it and then lie down to sleep. And what I have sometimes seen them eat was fabulous in-
● [264] deed. When they had eaten as much as they were able to find room for, I have heard them exclaim with a great deal of relief and satisfaction, *Ibe-acramu-shinne*, and this means, "I am in a state of knowing that I have eaten." And truly they looked like it with their smiling faces and well filled out stomachs. It may be also men-
117 tioned here that in many instances I have known the people to go off to their plots of land, where they built themselves small lodges and stayed till their work was done. When Mrs. Penri did this, I cooked and catered for myself, and I made some very fine hashes. Would that I had some of my best friends to help eat them! I once made a stew of wood-peckers, as there was nothing else to be found. But when I took

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

252 eat it raw, but if too much is taken, it causes scrofula or boils.

782 All things are looked upon as gods or demons in their own sphere and order. Cereals are said to be gods and are worshipped, and eating the firstfruits is a religious act. Thus an Ainu gave me the following lore on this subject. It is a prayer to the god of cereals.

788 "O thou Cereal Deity, we worship thee. Thou hast grown very well this year, and thy flavour will be sweet. Thou art good. The Goddess of Fire will be glad, and we shall rejoice greatly. O thou god, O divine cereal, do thou nourish the people. We now partake of thee. We worship thee and give thee thanks." After having thus prayed, the worshipper takes a cake and eats it, and from this time the common people may all begin to eat the new millet.

And so with many gestures of homage and words of prayer this kind of food is dedicated to the well-being of the people.

782 776 No doubt the cereal offering is regarded as a tribute paid to God, but that god is none other than the vital principle in the seed itself; and it is only a god in so far as it is beneficial to the human body. The conclusion I have arrived at from this and other examples is that the cereals are considered as a kind of totem gods, and that the Ainu idea of holding communion with such gods is by eating them and thus partaking of their goodness and life-giving essence. The same idea underlies the bear festival.

576 ● 264 On a certain occasion I gave some cauliflower seeds to an Ainu friend, but on going to pay him a visit later, found the plants in danger of running to seed. Upon asking him and his wife why they had not cut and eaten them, the lady replied: "You yourself have not yet partaken of them. We cannot touch them till you have first eaten some." Of course I cut some at once, cooked them, and was very glad to dedicate

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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them by feasting on them. After that the other people had their turn.

The Ainu had, we found, a curious aversion to eating double fruit. They were afraid of it. One year we had a double vegetable marrow growing in our garden. As we were about to cut half of it to use in the kitchen, our cook begged us not to do so, and all joined her in saying that should we eat it we should certainly be bewitched. No one could tell me why. It was simply an old saying of the ancient ones. And so out of regard to their scruples and fears and superstitions, we denied ourselves and got no marrow that day for dinner.

264
[417]

A POTHOOK

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

771
527 may possible have been originally clan or totemistic
293 signs.

Among the Ainu all the objects so represented are
264 first worshipped and then killed and eaten. Some of
782 the flesh is eaten raw and the warm blood drunk.
771 There seems to be some special virtue attached to drinking a little of the blood, which is caught in a vessel when the animal or bird is killed at the feast. Indeed, so much is thought of this that whenever the Ainu send me by post, as they sometimes do, a portion of bruin's flesh after he has been sacrificed, some of the blood is invariably sprinkled on the inside wrapping. The meat is always nicely wrapped up in sacred fetish shavings as well. No doubt the flesh is good but I can never bring myself to touch it. I thank them for their kind thought.

In my very early days here it was no uncommon thing for me to see such living creatures as I have mentioned, even poor little sparrows, kept in cages to be used in sacrifice at the proper season. By eating such, the peculiar powers and special virtues of each were supposed to pass into the communicant. To keep one of these in a cage was to be sure of great good luck, only the creature must be very carefully attended to or evil would, it was supposed, befall its owner.

766 On a certain occasion it was necessary for me to pass
782 through a village where there was a great and mighty wailing for the dead going on, accompanied by a noisy bacchanalian feast. The whole village was mourning and many had come in from miles around to assist, each bringing dumplings or *saké*. "What is the matter?" I asked. "Oh, the little cub has died," was the reply. It was a death feast, for the "dear little mighty one" had died. Its flesh was not to be eaten as it would have been had it been properly killed, but its head would be set up on high at the fetish place as a relic to be gazed upon and worshipped. A very elaborate funeral was being given it. Its spirit must be thus mollified

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 778 cluster outside toward the sunrise, they should be made and consecrated by the fireside and then passed through the window. So, too, when a bear or deer or bird has been killed or any precious gift brought to the house, it ought always to be taken in through the east-end window. Hence it comes to pass that the east window is called by such names as "Window through which fetishes pass"; "Window through which sacred things pass." For these reasons the east-end window [576] is to be very highly esteemed and nothing should be heedlessly thrown out of it. Nor, again, should any person look into a house through it."

342 When the hut is finished, the warming festival takes place in good earnest, and there are beforehand many smiles of pleasurable anticipation. The men and women quickly become very busy indeed, the women outside pounding millet for the dumplings, and the men attending to the religious part. It is very interesting to see the men making their fetishes. Some are told off to make small ones to hang up inside and outside the hut; some make theirs for the fireside, others for the sleeping places, treasure corner, doorways, windows, gardens, springs, rivers and outhouses. And all of them are devoutly worshipped and libations offered and drunk to them. When worshipping them, [264] each man dips his moustache-lifter into the *sakĕ* he holds in his hand ready, and takes out three drops, which he allows to fall before the object being prayed to. Even the pots, pans, kettles, water tubs and the other furniture and utensils are all treated in the same way. Nothing is left out. In the meantime the women and girls have pounded their dough for the dumplings, made it into cakes, and placed it in the pots hanging over the fires upon the hearth.

342 273 Very soon the noise begins. All talk at once and drink deeply. Even the women take *sakĕ* then, and sometimes give a little to their children. Some of the men are very fond of neat alcohol, and this is so

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

262 may do so provided they take proper precautions. When eating it they must take their swords, knives, axes, bows and arrows, tobacco boxes and pipe trays, cups, garden tools and everything they possess, tie them up in carrying slings and sit with them attached to their heads while eating. In no other way may the head be feasted on. If this instruction be carefully carried out, there will be no danger of forgetting where anything has been placed. Otherwise loss of memory will be the result."

[264 527]

And then, to wind up his information, the man gave me this example to digest.

539 "The otter forgets very much and very quickly; his memory can not be relied on at all, for it always fails him. One day he spent much time at sharpening his sword, and when he had finished doing so he buckled it on and went fishing. By-and-by he came upon a whale, which he attacked furiously. He jumped upon it and bit it with all his might, but, as the skin was very tough, he could make no impression whatever. His teeth would not enter but glanced off the skin at every bite. He laboured thus, scratching and biting for a long time, and only got very tired for his pains. Thereupon some Ainu, who were standing upon the shore, roared with laughter and jeered at him, saying, "O you Divine One, why do you not attack the whale with the sword you have at your side?" The otter, being thus brought to himself, remembered that he had a sword upon his thigh. So he drew it and very soon dispatched the creature. Thus we see how the otter was cursed by God for his original sin of forgetfulness." By what has now been written it will easily be understood that when one Ainu calls another "Otter-head," he means a great deal by it.

262 278 These matters are most strange. And it is very curious to learn that, although the meat and head of this animal eaten cooked are supposed to have such adverse magical effects, the dried heart is said to be a

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

342 Scheube, Batchelor, and others. I am inclined to regard this as purely a matter of convenience or habit. Mr. Batchelor should be able to tell us whether the Ainos consider the points of the compass in these matters. I would only point out that what he and others have told us [114] concerning the dwellings of the Ainos in the south, does not hold for those living on the northeast coast.

The houses represented in Plates XCVIII to CIII are typical Aino houses. This statement is made with entire confidence, as the result of extended travel through the country. On some parts of the island the thatch is put on with more care, as at Uragawa, for example, where the reeds are in overlapping layers, or, as Dr. Scheube says of the houses near Horobetsu, the only region of importance for Aino studies that I did not visit, of reeds laid on in a terrace-like manner.

The house figured by Dr. Scheube is by no means a usual form, although probably it does prevail in that part of the island where he visited the Ainos, around Volcano Bay, for he says: "The houses only differ one from another in size." Of these houses Dr. Scheube says that their length runs east and west. With exception of the west side, there is a window on each side, which may be closed with a reed mat. I am not prepared to maintain that the Ainos have no regard to the points of the compass in setting up the sacred relics, symbols, *inao*, etc., in particular parts of their houses, but I doubt very much if they do have. As already stated, Dr. Scheube and other writers tell us that the household treasures are kept in the northeast corner. But so far as I have been able to discover, no writer has given a reason for these customs, although they all leave one to infer that they are general and invariable.

STOREHOUSES.

343 The Aino storehouses are very much alike throughout the island. They are shown in Plates XCVIII, CI and CII and require no particular description. They are raised on posts about 6 feet above the ground to be secure from the attacks of wild animals. They are filled with dried fish, vegetables, and other articles of food.

HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS AND FOOD.

415 Doubtless there was a time, not very long ago, when the Ainos ate [264] with their fingers and had no better dishes for their food than such as they still make of bark. Fig. 72 represents a large dish made of bark, such as are in common use. The one numbered 150673 is 14 inches in length by 13 inches wide, and is used for fish. But precisely the same kind of dishes are made much smaller—not more than 4 inches long. The common water-bucket and dipper are also made of bark, as shown [177] in Fig. 73 [150668]. They have since learned to use Japanese knives, however, and they make a variety of wooden plates, which they deco- 000 rate with characteristic carved patterns (Fig. 74). Wooden spoons

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

transcribing them. I was, however, much surprised to find that such learned Europeans could yield such ready credence to a barbarian Ainu chief.

Thinking that it would please me, Benry told me the story of a deluge and a big flood, in which nearly all the Ainu were drowned. The few that escaped did so by finding refuge on a high mountain.

"Where did you learn this story, Benry?" I asked sternly.

"Nishpa, it is an old Ainu story, and all strangers who come to Piratori write it in their books."

"Oh, no, Benry, you know well that *one* stranger did not write it in his book," said I quickly, as if I knew all about it.

"Oh, yes, nishpa; *that* was the stranger who told me the story!"

This small anecdote shows how careful one ought to be in accepting information which may sound extremely interesting at first, but is absolutely worthless in the end.

AINU MAN WAVING HIS MOUSTACHE-LIFTER PREVIOUS TO DRINKING.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

most distant point from the door and the window. Occasional callers are received on the side nearest to the door.

The few Ainu who possess mats on which they sit during the day hang them up at night round the hut, probably to protect themselves from the liberal ventilation, which even those who are used to it find trying when a gale is blowing or the thermometer is very low.

There is no particular spot inside the hut set apart for meals, and the refuse is either thrown into a corner of the hut or flung outside the door and left there. It is difficult to say whether the inside or the outside of an Ainu hut is the dirtier, Heaps of stinking refuse are accumulated round the dwellings, and in summer-time these heaps are alive with vermin—mosquitoes, flies, *abu*, and black-flies. It is quite sufficient to move a step from the door to see a cloud of these noxious insects rise, and each one of them will have a bite at you.

Inside the house you are no better off. *Taikki* (fleas) are innumerable, and of all sizes, not to mention other well-known but usually anonymous enemies of the human skin.

The first night I slept in an Ainu hut, though I was provided with insecticide powder, I was literally covered with bites. With my fondness for statistics I proceeded to count them, and only from my ankle to my knee I counted as many as 220. The rest of my body and my head were covered in the same proportion, but I gave up the attempt to ascertain the exact number—the task was too overwhelming. My skin, however, got so inflamed by these bites as to produce fever, which lasted two or three days. After that time I never again suffered to such an extent, perhaps owing to the fact that no free spot was left to attack, or may be from that curious process called acclimatisation.

The Ainu huts are built entirely above ground, and are used alike in winter and summer.

In olden times the hut was always destroyed at the death of its owner, or when abandoned; but in the former case the custom is seldom practised now, and in the latter they are merely left to decay.

It is singular that migrating Ainu, coming across an uninhabited hut, never live in it, but build a new one for themselves.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

feed up the imprisoned animals. That "charity begins at home" is true even among the hairy people; for if they are kind to animals it is only for the sake of making a good meal of them on the first occasion that presents itself.

PESTLE.

It may be as well to state that the Ainu have never been known to make pottery. What they have of the kind is imported and sold to or exchanged with them by the Japanese. If I were an Irishman I should say that real Ainu pottery is made of wood. Nevertheless, large shells are often used by them as drinking vessels where wooden bowls are not obtainable. It is a common occurrence in Ainu households that one bowl is used by several individuals, and a more common occurrence still that none of the bowls are ever washed or cleaned after having been used.

MORTAR.

The small Ainu porch which stands frequently at the entrance of Ainu huts answers the purpose of a stackhouse, and in it is stored the firewood used in the house. The wooden mortar and the long pestle are kept in a corner under the porch. In the more civilised parts of Yezo these pestles and mortars are general, as the natives use them for pounding millet.

BONE SPOON.

WOODEN SPOONS AS USED BY THE MORE CIVILISED AINU.

PESTLE AND MORTAR USED FOR POUNDING SALMON.

The pure Ainu live principally on animal food—fish and meat—sea-weed, and some kinds of roots and herbs, which

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Ainu uses all four fingers and his thumb as well, as in carrying food to his mouth, picking up small objects, lifting a cup, pulling his own hair, scratching his ears, &c. That the Ainu have more muscular power in the head than either in the hands or feet when violent exertion is required is certain, as I had frequent proof when requiring natives to make my baggage fast with ropes to my pack-saddle. Where a European would have done this by passing the ropes round the baggage and pulling them fast to the saddle, the Ainu set his foot (generally the right) against the baggage and pulled the ropes with his teeth. By this method he used one-third more force than he would had he done his work with his hands. Though the Ainu are very supple about the body, they are nevertheless stiffer than we are about the knees and hands, which last peculiarity prevents them from learning any kind of sleight-of-hand. They are supple because of the singular flexibility of their spine and the "looseness" of their arms about their shoulders. When resting or tired, the shoulders droop so far forward as to prove that the muscular tension which we constantly exert to have "square shoulders" is foreign to the hairy people. The Ainu are deficient in biceps, and such an arm as a blacksmith's or athlete's, which is not uncommon among ourselves, is in Ainuland a thing unknown. Their muscles have not the firmness of those of civilised men. Want of use entails loss of power in the muscular system, and that, unfortunately, produces further results in paralysis, *kaki*, and rheumatism. In the legs the *tendo Achillis*, which often assumes such enormous proportions with us, is only moderately developed with them, though it is generally larger than the biceps, owing to the habit of walking and riding. Notwithstanding this, the centre of muscular power, as we have seen, is undoubtedly in the head, as with inferior animals; and the Ainu are fully aware of this, for if not why should they carry all weights on the head or by the help of the head? Why should they use their teeth instead of their hands when an extra powerful pull is required? And why should they *push* with their heads when pulling with their teeth is not practicable?

Having examined the different movements of the Ainu, let us now take some account of their attitudes. What struck me

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

even more characteristic than this is when both hands are placed in front, the fingers of the right hand overlapping those of the left. When sitting this is their invariable attitude, but in walking the arms hang by the side, and no swing is given to them to help the motion. In running, the arms are bent, and sometimes the hands are kept half opened about the level of the shoulders.

The Ainu legs, notwithstanding their greater muscular power than that of the arms, are neither stout nor well-developed—but they are wiry. The hips are narrow, and the legs are slightly curved.

The gait is energetic but not fast, each step being flat, with the foot firmly planted on the ground. When in motion the feet are perfectly straight, and move parallel to each other, and at each step the heel and toes touch the ground at the same time—an undeniable proof that the body is well balanced when they walk.

The Ainu walk mostly unshod, and the average length of the step in men is twenty-six inches (from heel of left to tip of right foot), and in women about twenty inches. The average number of steps to the minute is ninety-two in men and ninety-eight in women. Where the Ainu is seen at his best is when he is riding bareback. He sits so firmly that animal and rider seem to be only one body. The knees are slightly bent, and the legs and feet hang so that the toes are a great deal lower than the heels, and are also turned in. No voluntary muscular contraction is affected on the muscles of the legs; for if the knees are bent this is because of the shape of the horse's body, and if the rider "sticks" on his steed it is merely by the counterbalance of the dead weight of his two legs. The body of the rider is quite erect when riding gently, but on increasing speed the body is thrown backwards, the legs remaining in the same position. The single rein is held in the right hand resting on the horse's mane, and the left arm habitually hangs or rests on the rider's leg. When feeding in his hut, the Ainu sits cross-legged, but in places where he can lean against something, or out in the open, he squats, bearing his weight on both feet, but with the legs bent to such an extent that his head is on a level with his knees. Often his arms are rested on the knees themselves, and food is passed

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

with the hands to the mouth, to be then torn by the teeth. No forks, spoons, or chopsticks are used by the thoroughbred Ainu; but Japanese influence has induced some of the more civilised specimens of Volcano Bay and Piratori to give up partly the use of mother Nature's forks and take to the *Hashi* (chopsticks), also to adopt some ugly tin spoons as the sign of their adherence to civilisation. Lastly, when asleep the Ainu generally lie flat on the back. Sleeping on the right side and resting the head on the bent elbow is also a common posture; and when sleeping for a short period of time during the day I have often seen men still sitting, bring up their legs, cross their arms on their knees, and then rest the head on the arms; thus placidly having a "nap" without waking up with a stiff neck, stiff legs, and "pins and needles" in their arms, which would be the sure result if the average European tried that mode of repose.

Most Ainu have no bedding of any kind, and most of them sleep on hard rough planks or on the ground itself. Some of the people, however, sleep on bear-skins in winter, as it keeps them warm, and the colder the night the closer all the members of the family pack together to warm each other with their natural heat. A strange peculiarity, when Ainu are asleep, lying flat on their back, is, that instead of keeping both legs fully stretched out, one, or sometimes both, are raised and bent, with the sole of the foot planted on the ground. This peculiarity is chiefly noticeable in men, and I have observed it many times, especially in old people. The reason of it is this. The Ainu having no pillow, the head has to be turned so far back to rest on the ground itself that action at the other end of the body is necessary to counterbalance the strain on the spine. I came to this conclusion by being often placed in the same circumstances as the hairy people themselves, when I found that lying flat on my back on the hard unpillowed ground, if the legs were straightened only a small portion of the spine between the shoulders was supported, but by raising the legs the whole spinal column rested on the level surface.

As we have now seen the Ainu asleep in a "comfortable attitude," we shall leave them for the present, and I shall take my readers to examine their clothes, their ornaments, and their tattoos.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

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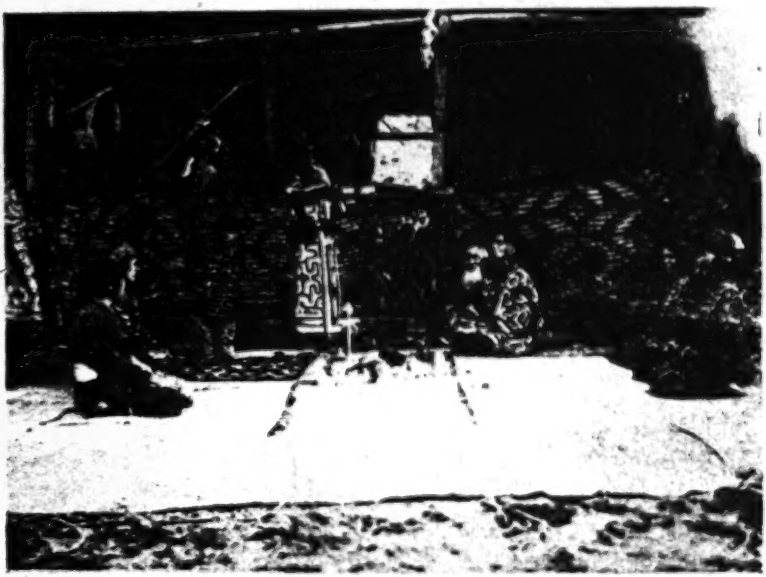

Fig. 1. Shooting arrows into roof to drive out evil spirits before the house-warming ceremony.

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Fig. 2. The author in the *u-eikapki* (ceremonial seating) at feast after bear ceremony.

PLATE XVI. CEREMONIES IN THE HOUSE.

[p. 30, (P)]

HEARTH AND HOME

workmanship, real achievements when one considers that they were knife-worked.

The *ikoro* have a value which at first sight seems fantastic. Objects that look like toy swords and imitation quivers, often strips and tablets of wood, pass for precious things. Among them, it is true, are iron swords, of which every man is supposed to possess at least one. The scabbards are often profusely decorated, some with Ainu and others with Japanese carving, and some have metal fittings. These swords are kept for ceremonial use. They are brandished in the processional dance to drive away evil spirits, which is held when there has been a death by drowning or other fatal accident, or when a house has been burnt down. They are also used in exorcisms for disease and in mimetic and other dances. They are credited with great potency, and by some elders are regarded as *kamui*. Both they and the imitation swords usually have a broad sash attached wherewith they are hung over the shoulder.

Imitation swords have either a solid scabbard or a short wooden blade. They are often adorned with small patches of tinsel or foil. Many of the sword and quiver *ikoro* are old, and age adds value even to articles of poor quality. They are believed to intensify luck in hunting, whereby more *ikoro* are obtained by barter of skins. This luck waned if they were seen by others, though the owner could gloat over them without much risk. Hence the most precious, *ikoro ikeu*, were also known as *mokoro* (sleeping) *ikoro*. Various reasons for this secrecy are alleged, such as fear of envy and dislike of ostentation, but ideas of magic are probably strong. In legends, the possessor of many *ikoro* adorned with tinsel was a *nishpa* (from *nish*, sky, and *pa*, above, chief). Imitation quivers had designs of sun, moon and stars carved or inlaid, and were then called *tombe*, shining things. The quiver, by the way, was feminine.

No. 12 on the plan of the house indicates the place for clothes and things under feminine control, including some things prepared for the dead. The husband and wife sleep at 13 and the children at 14. At G is the southern shining window (*itom puyara*), and at H the small window (*pon puyara*), near which dishes and other things are washed. Everyone has a bowl for personal use, and it is customary to clean it with the index finger, which is called the bowl-licking finger (*itangi-kem-ashki-pet*) or, for short, licking-thing (*kembe*).

Most of the southern part of the room was unoccupied except by

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The following is a description of funeral customs and rites observed at Nibutani. In other parts there are local differences, but so far as I can learn they are slight.

Funeral Food

With the exception of dried fish (*sat chep*)[1] which is specially requisite, and is often kept for funerals, the food eaten at them is much the same as for the feast which the ancestral spirits are believed to share. Now, however, some Ainu offer Japanese cakes, and fruit, and even put some in the coffin. The placing of food in the grave was not an Ainu custom. It is now usual for guests to bring food and a little money, and this mostly goes in the purchase of Japanese spirits (*shochu*). Formerly water only was the rule at funerals, and it was only on rare occasions such as the death of a village chief that a small quantity of sacred beer was brewed for the 'parting glass'. The women bring millet if they have it, *piyapa* for porridge and *munchiro*[2] for cakes (*shto*); this is brought unground and ground at the house of death. When an Ainu dies young or in middle age the milling goes on in silence, but when an elder or old woman dies it is thought that to sing an *upopo* cheers the departing spirit. The *upopo* of grinding is somewhat different from those sung in round dances, which are not danced at funerals.

As soon as life is extinct food is prepared, for the deceased has eaten little during his illness and is therefore thought to be in need of sustenance. This is afforded by the essence or *ramat* of the food. Food is therefore offered to Kamui Fuchi, who sends its *ramat* to the Ancestral Host by a messenger (*shongo*). In some places the bowl of food (*pakekai*) is placed at the head of the corpse[3] with a single chopstick set up in the middle.

The near relatives, sitting on each side of the corpse, which is laid to the north of the hearth with its head to the east, eat food from two trays, each of which bears four bowls. They eat with their fingers; guests formerly did the same, but now chopsticks are

[1] *Sat-chep* means literally dried fish, but is applied only to dried salmon of special quality made by a prescribed procedure. In the past its most important use was as an offering to the bear cub and for the feast in the bear cult.—H.W.

[2] *Panicum crusgalli* and *Setaria Italica* (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. 1, pp. 228 and 230).—H.W.

[3] It is said that at the present day a wife often drinks a cup of water placed by her deceased husband's head, and that a man will do the same for his deceased wife.—N.G.M.

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764 provided for them. These are commonly of the cane-like reed,
●[264] *shiki*,[1] and are discarded after the funeral. For funerals the normal
[177] manner of cutting these chopsticks is reversed.

Family Mourning

Within an hour of the apparent cessation of life the near relatives
[203] and sometimes close friends are summoned. A little later the news is carried near and far by messengers. This news is known as 'telling bad news' (*assurani* or *assuru-tasa*), and the usual title for a messenger (*shongo*) is changed to 'person with bad news' (*assuru-koro-guru*). At Mokoto in the north the body is not dressed till near kinsfolk who may live far away have arrived; if there is stench from decay, sulphur is burnt. At Nibutani the body is dressed after the first family mourning.

Before the body is dressed only near relatives and an intimate friend or two are allowed to see it, and these are said to share with the deceased a feeling for which there is a curious phrase, *uko-yai-buri-anno*, which means 'mutual embarrassment'. The living have, besides their grief, an uncanny feeling at seeing the cold stillness of death, and the deceased is supposed to feel embarrassment at being unable to rise and greet his relatives and friends.
[195] The corpse, when dressed but before its final wrapping, is known as *pone*, but in prayer to Kamui Fuchi it is called *nupe-po*, the lamented, and this title is used when speaking to relatives of the recently dead.

782 When the fact of death is certain, an elder, usually one of the
764 family, prays to Kamui Fuchi, asking her to take care of the liberated soul and to afford protection during the ceremonies. Before praying he attracts her attention by gently drawing a live ember from the hearth. Before and sometimes during the prayer he exclaims '*fuo*', a call for spirit attention. He then kneels at the head of the corpse and bows over it with his palms on the floor. He again exclaims '*fuo*', sighs and addresses the dead. His speech
[537] is called *pone ewe homsu*,[2] sorrowing over the dead body, and in it

[1] *Miscanthus*. For ordinary use they are cut so that the knots are regularly spaced with one at the top; for funeral use the knots should be irregularly spaced. —H.W.

[2] *Homsu* or *homshu* has various meanings, but here implies condolence or sympathy. This talk to the dead person with the mouth close to his ear, as I have sometimes seen it, varies in tone and content according to at least eleven conditions of the deceased, including sex and age.—N.G.M.

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764 (Pl. XXV) after weeping at the feet of the corpse. When this
[576] ceremony is finished all wash their hands outside and the funeral feast begins.

[554] The important mourners sit in order along the north wall, and this arrangement is called *pone kiri—samta u-eshopki* (beside the body mutually seated). At the head of the hearth are a few elders
[782] specially chosen from the village of the deceased, with elders from other villages opposite. Libations are made to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui and Chisei-koro Kamui, all with libation wand lowered. This is a slight reversal, except for Kamui Fuchi whose wand is usually lowered. The cup is passed from north to south, the reverse
[782] of the ordinary custom, and the wand on its rim is pointed not towards the receiver but to the one who hands it. All guests before
[262] drinking point the wand down to give a drop or two to the floor,
[177] formerly of earth. The viands, consisting of stew, millet cakes, etc., and now rice and often cheap Japanese sweetmeats, are set on trays
[178] with short feet (*otchike*) near the lower hearth. Nowadays *shochu* is offered to all the men and a little to the women, with resulting
[273] intoxication and deterioration of ritual observance. The manner of drinking, however, involves three instances of reversal which should be noted.

764 At the funeral feast for an elderly person an elder may dance a
● 264 *taphara*, which is considered pleasing to the *ramat* of the deceased. A joyous atmosphere is quite proper, but if the deceased is young such behaviour would be considered most unseemly. The elder takes care to dance with his back to the corpse.

[782] The feast includes the presentation to the deceased of a tray with bowls of food taken from the hearth and therefore given by Kamui Fuchi. Relatives sitting beside the corpse and the elders near it partake of food which has been offered to the head of the
[276] corpse, all eating with their hands. For a man, or an old woman who likes a whiff of tobacco, a lighted pipe is often placed in contact with the mouth of the corpse.

764 Before the feast begins, Kamui Fuchi's permission is asked to eat it, and when it is finished the elder at (d), who is usually a relative, makes a brief address to Kamui Fuchi. He then proceeds to the head of the corpse, weeps with his hands on the ground and
[537] delivers the address to the departed, known as *piyo-itak-kote* (put in last words). This varies with the age, sex and standing of the individual, but it is usual to congratulate the old and commiserate

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Other differences are as follows. Dried fish, an essential funeral food at Mokoto and Pihoro, is not eaten at Shiranoka. Food is not offered to the corpse but placed on the hearth, and the deities Abe-ochi Ekashi and Fuchi Kamui and the spirits in Pekere Moshiri, called lighted world by Monkaro Ekashi, are relied on to provide it. Some stitches are removed from the garment for the corpse and only one knot is permitted in fastening it. A black-and-white mourning cap is fastened with wooden buttons which are broken. The mat is fastened after lacing with arrow-shaped buttons. They differ slightly according to sex and are probably intended as amulets for the dead. All grave-goods are broken at the grave. The sword, damaged or broken, is tied in the burial mat reversed, that is with the handle towards the feet. A Japanese sword-guard (*tsuba*) is sometimes placed with the corpse of a woman to give her strength and courage in her new surroundings. The common meal is eaten after the corpse has been laced up in the mat. Two women with garments reversed take food left over from the common meal and leave it on the ground at a safe distance from the house on the way to the grave.

The body is taken to the grave feet first. It is usual to halt occasionally and sprinkle some of the water, carried for the grave-post rite, near the head to refresh the departed. The grave-post is called 'wood person' (*ni-kuru*). At Pihoro the carrying-pole is usually set up in place of the grave-post, which was formerly reserved for Ainu of special standing. The forms of the posts differ from those in the south. The top of the male post resembles the letter Y, with a string of black cloth attached to one arm. Below there is carving and, it is said, an ancestral mark. The top of the female post is like the letter T, with two strips of cloth and no carving. Huge carved posts were formerly in vogue at Moshoto and other places in the north.

The grave is called earth-boat (*toi-chip*), a name which may be associated with myths of spirit boating in the heavenly river. Earth is heaped at the edges of the grave with branches and brambles to protect it. Relatives and mourners each throw in a handful of earth, and this is called earth scattering (*toi-charapa*). The farewell address here is given at the grave.

Near relatives returning from the grave with garments reversed take them off and shake them thoroughly outside the house, but don them again in the reversed manner. Rennuikesh says that